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T H E
P R O T E S T E R,

On Behalt of the P E O P L E.

By ISSACHAR BAREBONE, one of the P E O P L E.

NUMB. I.

To be continued Weekly.

Pr. 2d.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1753.

North. *We bear this fearful Tempest sing,*

Yet seek no Shelter to avoid the Storm :

We see the Wind sit sore upon our Sails,

And yet we strike not but securely perish.

Ross. *We see the very Wreck that we must suffer,*

And unavoidable the Danger now

For suffering so the Causes of the Wreck.

North. *Not so : Even thro' the hollow Eyes of Death,*

I spy Life peering.—— Shakespear RIC. II.

IT is an old Observation on the political Conduct of the People of *England*, That They are apt to run into Extremes : And it is the frequent Saying of a certain eminent Modern to the same Effect, That They chuse to live either in the *Garret* or *Cellar* of their Understandings : In the *Garret*, we must suppose, when They will hear of nothing but *Opposition*, right or wrong, to Those in Power : In the *Cellar*, when They bow their Necks to any Yoke, and their Backs to any Load, with as much Tameness and Insensibility, as if born only to be Beasts of Burden.

No.

NOR have foreign Writers and foreign Statesmen lost any Opportunity to pronounce with more Malignity than Truth, I hope, That Inquietude, Levity, and Inconsistency were the Characteristics of the *English* People.

I SET out with these pointed Reflections not by Way of adopting them in the Gross; but as one of the Experiments, which I hold it pertinent to make on the Temperature of the present Times.

If the Majority of Those who happen to take up this Paper, are either so ignorant of pass'd Transactions, as not to *know*, whether the Nation is, in general, liable or not, to such Imputations as These, or so indifferent, as not to *care* whether it is or not, I shall have little hope of the Community, and less of my own Endeavours for its Service.

IGNORANCE and Indifference are both Obstacles to every Process that regards the Understanding: But of the Two, Indifference is the most insurmountable. As long as the Press is open, the Road to Knowledge will be open too; and He that desires to be conducted will rarely want sufficient Guides. But Indifference has no Desire, consequently is out of the Reach of Practice: And where both Ignorance and Indifference meet in the same Person (which may sometimes be the Case) nothing short of divine Grace can have any Operation.

As the Leaven is, so will be the Lump. If a Community is compos'd of unprincipled Individuals, it will be an unprincipled Community. Where Principles are wanting, Consistency must necessarily be wanting; and where there is no Consistency, we must not expect either Dignity or Importance. On the contrary, the *Conduct* of such a Community will be fluctuating always, will be absurd often, and what, in the End, must render them as low and contemptible in the Eyes of their Neighbours as ever They had been great or eminent.

By

By the Word Community, I mean a People in their collective Capacity: I speak of their Conduct in Relation to Government Matters: A *free* People must be understood; for none but such have any Sphere of their *own* to act in; We, the People of *England* esteeme ourselves a free People; we have constitutional Provisions and Resources for the Preservation of that Freedom; consequently have the Means in our own Hands of preserving and increasing our Felicity: And, hence it will follow, That if ever we sink into such a fordid State, as That just specify'd, it will be for want of Firmness and Consistency in ourselves.

Now, that we have sometimes been so negligent of our national Character, as to furnish sufficient Grounds for the Imputation above fasten'd upon us, I am afraid must be in Part admitted.

It is easy to turn to the Reign of *Charles II.* and therein, we shall find, that, in a very short Period of Time, we fell from one Extreme to the other; that is to say, from the *Garret* to the *Cellar*.

Two Words, *Papery* and *Slavery*, gave Rise to the first of these Extremes; and never was any Brand impress'd on a Court with more Success: Opposition was immediately reckon'd the whole Duty of a Patriot; and in Proportion to the Terror which had seized on the People was the Ferment which follow'd: Every Court-Measure was sure to be an unpopular Measure: And so strongly had this Prepossession taken Root, that no Concessions from the Throne, how gracious and condescending soever, were able to remove it: On the contrary, They could not see the King surrounded with his Guards, without being in Pain for their Liberties; nay, the House of Commons actually pass'd several angry Votes against them: And, instead of granting his Majesty a Supply (which he had long and earnestly solicited) Resolv'd, That whosoever should furnish him with Money, even by Way of Loan, should be responsible for it to Parliament, as an
Enemy

Enemy to the Constitution: In short, nothing would quiet the Storm but the Sacrifice of himself in the Person of his Brother: And it is pretty plain by the Manner of his dissolving the *Oxford-Parliament*, that he thought himself in the Hands of a *Polish* Diet, rather than of an *English* House of Commons.

AND now (contrary to the usual Course of the Parallel between the Body politic and the natural Body) the cold Fit follow'd the hot One: For, no sooner had the Breath of the Prerogative, dissipated the Cloud which seem'd ready to burst on the kingdom; and his Majesty had vindicated his Conduct in his Royal Declaration publish'd thereupon, than every Spark of Opposition seem'd to be extinguish'd at once. In vain after This, were the ablest Pens of the Party employ'd to revive the Spirit, and recover the Confidence of the People: And, tho' the King and his Ministers made a most alarming and oppressive Use of the Mastery they had thus regained, the People continued alike insensible of every arbitrary Practice try'd upon them, and every Consideration that should have excited them to seek for Redress or Deliverance.

BUT if this Period of our History does, indeed, serve to prove, that we are sometimes in a Lethargy, and sometimes in a Phrenzy, or according to the ludicrous Image I set out with, That we are alternately in the *Garret* and *Cellar* of our Understandings, the next will serve to rescue us in Part from that Reproach, by shewing, That we have also our more rational Intervals, in which we live as we ought in the *Middle-Story*.

FOR under *James II*, the Sensibility of the People return'd and their Spirit with it: The Revolution was the Fruit of both: And we have been taught to consider that memorable Event as the Work of Providence itself. A Circumstance which ought to be recollected whenever the Nation sinks into the like Abyss of Numbness, Supineness

pineness and Indifference, as a Preservative against Despair, the Extreme of human Misery !

OF our Lapses and Relapses since, I may, perhaps, treat occasionally in the Course of these Papers : And, as to our present State, Whether it, in any Degree, resembles *That* which I have just pass'd over, Whether the *English* Monarchy answers to the Image exhibited in the Frontispiece of *Hobbes's Leviathan*, of a Community united under and directed by one superior Intelligence, and concurring with all their Powers and Faculties in one and the same Act ; or Whether the People, as a People, resembles a shapeless, helpless, heartless Body, either distorted with unnatural Convulsions, or so besotted and entranc'd as not to be roused by any Species of Torture ? it is a Question of so delicate a Nature, and ought to be treated with so much Candour and Circumspection, that I shall not presume to offer an Opinion, till I have made the most elaborate Discussions, and till I am authorized by the Voice of the People, if they have any Voice left, to decide on their Behalf.

I MUST, however, beg Leave to insinuate by Advance, That I am not over sanguine as to the Success of This my Undertaking : Perhaps there is no Principle left among us to operate upon, except Curiosity, the lowest of all Principles. And tho' I may have a Redundance of new Matter to lay before the Public, it may not excite a Fortieth Part of the Attention which has been shewn to the knotty Case of *Squires* and *Canning*, and the Pleadings of their respective Advocates.

IT is not long since the Nation took a Surfeit of Politics ; and perhaps the loathing it excited is not yet worn off.

THESE are sufficient Discouragements, and I could enflame the Bill with many other Items, yet more considerable and more alarming — But being determin'd to throw the Dye, it is to no Purpose to enumerate the Chances against me — Besides ; Fasting may, by this Time, have set a new Edge on our blunted Appetites : And the Eve of a general Election has hitherto been the Crisis when a political Repast is in a more particular Manner grateful.

To conclude: No particular Prejudice, I hope, will be conceiv'd against me, because my Name is BAREBONE: For tho' I cannot deny, that the Blood of *Praise-Goa Barebone*, the famous Sectary, runs in my Veins, his Descendants, have long since renounced whatever was pernicious in his Principles. Instead of desiring to overturn and destroy Fundamentals, my best Endeavours will be us'd to restore and re-establish them. To the Monarchy, as limited by the Laws, I am a true Liege-Man: I revere the Hierarchy; but am, notwithstanding, a declar'd Enemy both to Oppression and Persecution: The present happy Establishment I am as firmly attach'd to, as the most devoted and best rewarded of our Ministers, because the Basis of it is understood to be the Happiness of the People: An honest and able Man in Office, I esteem a more respectable Being of the Two than an honest and able Man out of Office; because Action not Speculation, is the proper Sphere of Vigor and Virtue: But then the Tree must be made known by its Fruits; and we may curse, by Authority, when we find nothing but Leaves. I am not, however, for bringing a railing Accusation even against the most worthless of the worthless Great: An Ass laden with Dignities must be prov'd an Ass before he is cudgell'd out of the Way; and in detecting the Abuse of Power and Authority, we should never forget the Respect that is due to the Use.

BESIDES: I do not assume this Province of Protesting (which I shall take my own Opportunity to explain) as an officious, intruding, malapert Individual, but as the Elect of a whole Tribe, the Tribe of the *Barebones*, which is becoming one of the most numerous in the Land, and under that Sanction as a Candidate only for the Favour of the Public.

SOME such Office and some such Officer, I am afraid They stand in Need of; And if They do not find me properly qualify'd, I hope They will prefer some other.

T H E
P R O T E S T E R,

On Behalf of the 'P E O P L E.

By *ISSACHAR BAREBONE*, one of the P E O P L E.

NUMB. 2.

To be continued Weekly.

Pr. 2d.

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1753.

THAT there is a wide Difference between Subjection and Abjection, I believe will not be disputed. Subjection we are all bound to: Abjection we ought all to be ashamed of. The free Subject has his Prerogative as well as the Prince on the Throne; and, notwithstanding all the Subtleties and Ingenuities with which every Man is apt to varnish over his Neglects, and Omissions, it is his own fault, in some Degree, if he has not the full and free Exercise and Enjoyment of it.

THERE are Duties which are impos'd upon us, and which must be discharg'd because they must. But there are other Duties, of a superior Nature which depend only on ourselves: The Former, which comprehend our Payments, Homages and Servilities of all Sorts, Slaves may discharge as well as Freemen: But the Latter, which relate to the Conservation of our *Birthrights*, require a Generosity of Mind, which Slaves are incapable of. In Proportion as These are observed or not, the Character of a Community rises or falls: And when They cease to be observ'd at all, it may be said, the Spirit of that Community is departed, and what remains, is no better than a Mass of Infirmity and Corruption.

OF

Of these superior Duties it must be presum'd, Dr. *Davenant* meant to treat, in the last Section of his Essay, on the *probable Means of making a People Gainers by the Balance of Trade*, which has for its running Title these Words, *Of private Mens Duty in the Administration of public Affairs*: But, unfortunately, his whole Discourse is little better than Digression upon Digression: And, more unfortunately still, the Two Passages that seem most conducive to his Purpose, may, in Process of Time, grow wholly insignificant: For in the first he recommends the *Planting of Morality* in the Minds of the *better Sort*, and the *Shame of doing Ill to their Country*, as the *truest Remedy* in case the Nation should fall into *any great Disorder*: And in the second, he resolves all his Hopes of Success, into the *Peoples* making a *right Choice of Representatives*; that is to say, of such as are *uncorrupt, unbiass'd and disinterested*) And in *their* conforming when chosen, to the following Instructions. To wit,

1st. "THAT they diligently attend the Nations Service.

2d. THAT They carefully watch all Innovation or Encroachments upon the Constitution.

3d. THAT they make Provision against future Evils.

4th. THAT they look narrowly into the Income and Expence of the Kingdom, and examine which Way immense Debts have been contracted, and how that Money has been disposed of, which has been already granted.

5th. THAT They hold a strong Hand over the Men of Business, calling those to an Account, who, either through Folly, or upon some wicked Design, pursue destructive Measures."

In the Doctors Time, no Doubt, Matter of *Duty* was Matter of *Argument*, and the Minds of the *better Sort* (by whom we are to understand, the Rich and Great) were a fit Soil for those excellent Plants which were to produce Self-Denial and public Spirit: No Doubt also the *Clergy* were, *then*, one and all, ready and prepar'd to undertake the Service; (For, with the Doctors Leave, there must be *Planters* as well as *Plants*; and surely the propagating of *Morality*, which is one of the noblest of Offices, would best become That which is understood to be
the

the most sacred of Characters) The *People* had it in their Power *then* to make a *right Choice*; and Men of Capacity and Integrity were to be found, without the Help of *Diogenes's* Lanthorn.

BUT the Doctors own Works abundantly shew, That national Depravity was sufficiently apparent even in those better Days, and the natural Progression of Things from bad to worse, was sufficiently apprehended.

SUPPOSE then a Period should be forming in the Womb of Time (for Nobody will presume to suppose it already form'd) when no material Difference should be discoverable between the Inhabitants of St. *James's* and the worst of St. *Giles's*, except in Rank, Name, Circumstance, fine Phrases, and fine Cloaths; when the *great Disorder* of the Nation should be a Suppression, if not an *Extinction*, of *Morality* and the *Shame* of doing ill; when no Body would venture to propose the Doctors Specific, for fear of being treated as a Dupe, and laugh'd out of Company; when the Leprosy of one Family should be communicated, as if by Inoculation, to another; and when, despising the Woe denounc'd in the *Gospel*, against such as call Good Evil and Evil Good, the Idea of Honour should be connected with that of a Tetter, and nothing should be held transcendantly excellent but what was transcendantly rotten.

SUPPOSE farther, in this imaginary Period, and in Consequence of the general Inversion and Confusion of Names and Things, suppos'd to be the Product of it, That what was an *Imposition*, a *Purchase*, or an *Exaction*, should be called a *Choice*: And that the People should be charg'd with setting their Hand and Seal to their own *Ruin*, and thereby making it their own Act and Deed, when it was notorious, they could not be *present* at the Transaction, for Want of sufficient Attornies.

I SAY, suppose it was not un-supposable, that any such execrable Period should ever occur, and that the Disorders already specify'd had, in Part, actually taken hold of us, what hope in such Case, could we entertain of reclaiming the Doctors *better Sort*? And would it not be found advisable and necessary, to procede on a different Plan?

INDEED, even in the worst of Times, the Great could scarce be so universally prostitute, as not to furnish out a few unexceptionable Names; and if These were to become

come Volunteers in the Service of the Public, They would have all the Titles imaginable to stand in the first Rank of popular Estimation: But then, that They should condescend to take that Trouble upon them is not always to be rely'd on: For, being of all Persons most subject to the Tyranny of Fashion, and least accusom'd to the Fatigue of Business, habitual Indolence and the Dread of Singularity, might sometimes deter or restrain them, from making any popular Use either of their Characters, or their Virtues.

THE most solid *Resource*, therefore, at such a Crisis, if such a Crisis should ever occur, would be in the *Gentry*, the *liberal Professions*, the whole *mercantile Interest*, and, in short all, who had any Pretence to be comprehended in the *middle Rank* of People.

THESE could never be wholly destitute of Probity or insensible of *Shame*, or incapable of Reflection, or at open War with *common Decency* and *common Sense*: And to These I would have added the *Yeomanry*, of old esteemed both the Bulwark and Buttress of the State, if their present *waning* Condition, would have authorized me to place any material Dependance upon them.

AMONG These therefore, that *better Sort* might be found, on whom we might rationally ground all our remaining Hopes and Expectations.

THEY constitute the most considerable Part of the People: They defray the main Expence of Government: They are first affected by every public Mismanagement and Misfortune: They are the *Many* who bear the *Few* upon their Shoulders; and who cannot be corrupted as a Body, tho' They may happen to be compos'd of corrupt Individuals: They, therefore, have a common Interest in the Administration of Government: A common Interest is the natural Basis of a common Cause; and, in Case of an ill Administration, They may legally and constitutionally, interpose for the common Good: In former Times, when Misgovernment was either more notorious, or more apprehended, than of late, They have frequently interpos'd; They were encourag'd to do so; They were applauded for so doing; and by that Party most which at present has the Ascendancy in the State, and which still glories in the Principle though at War with the Application.

THE

THE worst of their Case is, That 'tis become hard to convince them of their own Significancy: And harder still to prevail with them to exert it. Numbers while unconnected and undisciplin'd, instead of Strength constitute Feebleness, and the wider the Circuit, the weaker the Web. What is allow'd to be conclusive with regard to the Whole, no Man thinks himself oblig'd to apply to himself: So no Body moves when every Body is of Opinion, That Motion is indispensably necessary,

WHAT Sort of Figure a great and free Community, abounding with Individuals of great Capacity, great Property, and great Enterprize, makes in such a Predicament, need not be farther explain'd: And, surely, the Palliations urg'd by Some, That their Leaders have falsify'd their Professions, have amus'd, have deceiv'd, have betray'd them; And by Others, That Power 'ever was and ever will be abus'd; whence they would infer, Correction and Reformation to be impracticable, are very insufficient. For if Power is ever-trespassing and encroaching upon Liberty, and must never be obstructed, it must in the End devour every Relique of Liberty: And the less we can depend on the Steadiness of Others, the more incumbent it is on us to act steddily for ourselves.

WHAT the Interest of a Country is, may easily be defin'd: What is not the Interest of a Country may be easily expos'd. Heads of Grievances may be comprehended in very few Words: What is the general Sense of a Community on these Heads, may be collected; and, perhaps, what ought to be the Sense might be agreed upon.—And if such Agreement could be obtained, what Alteration would the Apostacy of Individuals make in the Premises? Would not the Cause be the same? Would not the Interest which constituted it be the same? Would not the Expediency or Necessity of prosecuting it be the same? Or rather, would not both become more manifest and more cogent than ever?

WHENEVER the Voice of the People is rais'd in a *constitutional* Way, it must be heard with Respect; and consequently, their Silence, when the Constitution itself was in Danger, if ever that should be the Case, would be utterly inexcusable.

WHAT an illustrious Exemple of Courage and Perseverance does the Parliament of *Paris*, at this very Hour,
present

present to the Rest of *Europe*? They are, in the Government of *France*, no more than the Dispensers of Law, Justice, and Equity, and profess to have no positive Power, but what is *declaratory* of the Kings *Will* and *Pleasure*; consequently, might find Pretences plausible enough to excuse themselves from intermeddling in any of those Affairs which had a Tendency to embroil them with their Sovereign: Notwithstanding which They become *Protesters on Behalf of the People*: They represent; They remonstrate; They adhere; and, at last, go into Banishment, rather than renounce their Faith to their Fellow Subjects.

If it is objected, That they have only foil'd themselves: That the King is still Master—That the Church and the Army are his Supporters, &c. — I answer, Policy must be extinct in *France*, if the Government there should proceed to any farther Extremities with a Body so truly respectable, and so truly respected by every honest and sensible Man in that Kingdom — Despotism in a Country of Science and Magnanimity as That is, ought never to be exhibited without a Mask: For tho' the grim Features of the Monster would infallibly strike Terror, it would also excite Abhorrence, if not Indignation and Resolution: And that execrable Maxim of the Tyrant *Caligula*, *Let them hate while they fear*, is not worth establishing any where.

BUT whatever may be the Issue of this extraordinary Contest to the Parties concerned, it certainly presents a very striking Object to us: For what the Parliament of *Paris* have gone out of their ordinary Road to do, by way of *Remonstrance* to the King, at the Peril of their Functions, Liberties, and Lives, it is in the Power of every *Corporation* and *Grand Jury* amongst us to do, under the *Protection* of the Laws, and consequently, without exposing themselves to any Peril at all. — So that, if ever any *ministerial Measure* should be *braughtily* and *insolently* obtruded upon us, which was nationally odious, because inconsistent with the Tenor of our *holy Religion*, and injuriously both to our *Honour* and our *Interest*, we could not, with such an illustrious Exemple before our Eyes, excuse ourselves, in my humble Opinion, from *petitioning*, if not *protesting*, against it, as a *national Nuisance*.

T H E
P R O T E S T E R

On Behalf of the P E O P L E.

By ISSACHAR BAREBONE, one of the P E O P L E.

NUMB. 12.

To be continued Weekly.

Pr. 2d.

S A T U R D A Y, A U G U S T 18, 1753.

AS there is no Man who does not, at one Time or other, stand in need of more Knowledge than He has, so there are Few, perhaps, who have not more than They make use of: And next to him in point of Service, who furnishes the Mind with a new Idea, is He who furnishes seasonable Hints for the right Application of Those Ideas we are already possess'd of.

AND This, will, occasionally, be one Branch of my Office. *New Matter* is apt to drive the *Old* into Disesteem and Disuse: And yet without frequent Recourse to the *Old* we cannot make a full use of the *New*.

By frequent Repetition, without any Intermixture of Scrutiny and Discussion, Words come to lose a good part of their original Meaning; nay, to become little better than mere Sounds; as having no precise Meaning annex'd to them, if not to undergo a total Inversion; in which Case they pass from Mouth to Mouth in a Sense altogether foreign to that they were first receiv'd in.

Thus Cicero to his Friend Atticus . . . *Nomina Rerum perdidimus, & Licentia Militaris* (*Senatoria*, he might have said as properly) *Libertas vocatur*: And at this Hour, when the Words *Excellent Constitution*, *glorious Revolution*, *happy Establishment*, *Liberty* and *Property*, &c. occur, do They not occur as if they were all of the *Language*, and were all bound to do *Suit* and *Service* to the *Administration*; or, indeed, to any *Administration*, which, according to the *present Style*, happens to have the Government in *Charge*, how low, corrupt, insubstantial, and contemptible becometh?

To rescue then these meritorious Terms out of so base and odious a Vassalage, and restore them to the Public whereto They of right belong, will not, I hope be an unacceptable Service: And in the Course of these Papers, that Service, at least, I hope will be perform'd.

OUR *Constitution* was thought *excellent*, tho' not *perfect*, before the *glorious Revolution* took place, therefore was thought worth retrieving and preserving at *any Risque whatsoever*: I say at *any Risque whatsoever*: For, notwithstanding the plausible Things suggested after that memorable Event in Justification of it, there was not one *English Adventurer* in it, whose Life would not have been forfeit to the Laws of his Country, in case it had not been crown'd with Success.

I do not say this in order to lessen the Glory of the Revolution, but, on the contrary, to do it full Justice: For had it been a less difficult or dangerous Undertaking, it would have been proportionably *less* glorious. Having been told by narrow-minded, selfish Lawyers, That the *Letter* of the *Law* was against them, the Nation might have tamely given up the *Spirit* too; might have crouch'd like the *Camel* to be loaded, and surrender'd the *Constitution* to the Mercy of the *Prerogative*: But they chose at that Time to act a higher and nobler Part: For the King having *dispens'd* with every *Fundamental* that stood in his Way, They thought themselves authoris'd, and no doubt were, by the *Law-paramount* of *Self-preservation*, to do the same.

IN talking, therefore, of the *Glorious Revolution*, do not let us talk of it as a mere Engine to set the Crown on the Head of the Prince of *Orange*, and thereby to subject the Power, Wealth, and Strength of this Island to *Dutch* and *German* Purposes to the Worlds End; for this is talking *German* and *Dutch*, tho' we express ourselves in *English*: But let us talk of it always as *Englishmen* should, as a great *national Effort* to re-establish and perpetuate *national Liberty*, together with every *other* national Advantage; and for that Reason as a *Precedent* in chief, which ought to be the *most* rever'd of any in our Annals.

BUT to talk of it even in this Language and under this Predicament is not enough: We of the *Community* ought to compare the *Principles* and *Professions* on which it was founded, with the *Effects* it produc'd: We ought to examine, Whether the *Grievances* which gave Rise to it were really

really and effectually remov'd? And, if so, Whether other Grievances, as intolerable, tho' of a different Nature and Complection, had not been superinduc'd?

IN every such Enterprize a *Double Game* is to be apprehended, because a two-fold Purpose is to be serv'd: The one *national*, which is That always exhibited to the Eyes of the *Nation*, the other *factions*, which is always kept as much in the dark as possible.

BOTH are to be serv'd by the same Hands; and Experience has generally shewn, That he who has much to do for himself has not Time to do much for the Public: Whence it follows, That Families are rais'd and the Public sacrificed.

THE *Abuse*, rather than the *Excess*, of the *Prerogative*, was, however, what turn'd the Hearts of the People against King *James*: But the Indignation of our *Grandees* of all Sorts, was not, perhaps, so much excited by that *Abuse*, as by the *Consideration*, That They were no *Sharers* in the *Benefit* expected from it. The *King* was the Tool of *his Church*, and thought only of aggrandising his own Power for the Sake of *his Priests*: All that *They* got the *Church of England* was sure to lose: The *Peers* were become but so many *splendid Cyphers*: And the Care which former Parliaments had taken, not to part with the *Power of the Purse*, had taught the *Court* such a *Habit of Oeconomy*, That, while exempt from the Burden of *foreign Wars*, the *Exchequer* needed no extraordinary Supply from the People: So that the *Commons* found themselves *useless* too; and for that Reason were dissatisfy'd, tho', in a Manner, free from *Taxes*.

To recover their *own Importance*, then, was the *immediate Object* of the *several Orders* thus interested and united in the Quarrel of the *Nation* against the *Court*: And, when the *new Government* came to be settled, in the *Convention* summon'd by the Prince of *Orange*, To make the *most* of that *Importance* seems to have been the general Endeavour of all: But the Crisis was most particularly favourable to the *Commons*: And it appears They took their Advantage accordingly.

By the most absurd or the most criminal Management, *Ireland* was to be reduc'd by Force of Arms: And to make good his *Engagements*, as well as to maintain his *Hold*, King *William* was oblig'd to enter into an immediate War with *France*: A War could not be carry'd on
without

without Supplies: And the *knowing Ones* of those *Times* resolv'd to give those Supplies in such a manner as should render *annual Sessions* necessary; in which Case, They had it in their Power to *obstruct* as much as to *aid*; consequently to raise their own Merits and Services to what *Price* they pleas'd.

EVEN in their very *Declaration of Rights*, this *trimming Spirit* discover'd itself: For, as, on the one Hand, They narrow'd the *absolute Disavowal* of a *dispensing Power* in the *Crown*, contain'd in the Prince of *Oranges* Declaration, by adding these illusory Words, *As exercis'd of late*; so, on the other, with the same Breath, that They condemn'd the Practice of Keeping up a *standing Army* in *Time* of Peace, They authoris'd themselves, by adding these Words, *without Consent of Parliament*, to *connive* at it: In Virtue of which Expedient, They, at once, provided for their own *Co-ordinacy* (if I may use the Expression) and were enabled to gratify the new King, who had *pre-determin'd* to have an *Army* for his *Support*, as appears by the dextrous wording of the *twelfth Article* of his *Declaration*, in which, the *Danger* the Kingdom was subjected to from the *Army*, is artfully *contracted*, to the *Papist-part* of it.

IN *declaring* also, That, for the *Redress* of all *Grievances* and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held FREQUENTLY, They had the ungenerous Precaution to leave the Interpretation of so *vague* a Phrase wholly in the *Crown*; instead of reviving the famous *Triennial Bill* pass'd with so ill a Grace by King *Charles I.* or providing for an *annual Parliament*, according to the old Laws of *Edward III.* which enacted, That Parliaments should be held once a Year; or oftner if Need be.

AND, lastly, (which was perhaps the most inexcusable of their Faults) They left the *Representative* in the same State they found it; tho' the *rotten Part* of it had been render'd so notorious by the Infection it had began to communicate to the Whole: And tho' a Principle of *Corruption* which had spread so fast, could not but, in the End, be fatal to the Constitution.

A DISSOLUTION of Government had put all the Materials of Power and Policy into their Hands; and, howsoever chosen and return'd, They should have acted at

so great a Crisis, as became *national* Legislators : That is to say, on such a Plan, as should have been worthy to last as long as the World.

AND This, with a due Regard to Fundamentals, could have been done only, by considering, That as *Property* is the *natural Basis of Power*, and as the *Power* of the *People* is vested in their *Representatives*, so Reason and Equity requir'd, That the said *Representative* should be *fairly and equally constituted by a fair and equal Representation of Property*.

M. de MONTESQUIEU, and all other Foreigners who treat of our Constitution as the most perfect ever form'd, (as having all Manner of Preventives and Correctives in-wove thro' every Article of its Texture, and as no otherwise liable to Corruption, than by the Corruption of Those who have it in their Keeping) manifestly presume, our *Representative* to be already thus constituted ; or else They never would have been so lavish in their Praises of it : Nor would M. de Montesquieu in particular have been so arch on Harrington, for building *Chalcedon* with *Byzantium* before his Eyes.

No Property in *Great-Britain* has any legislative Power immediately connected with it, but the Property represented in Parliament : And if the Quantity of Property ought every where alike to be the Measure of Representation, every *Forty Shillings* in *London* and *Middlesex* ought to be as fairly and fully represented as any *Forty Shillings* in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*.

WHEREAS the Matter of *Fact* is so fatally otherwise, that *London* and *Middlesex* return but *Eight* Members, while *Cornwall* returns *Forty-Four* and *Devonshire*, *Twenty-Six* ; According to which Standard, it might be said, That the HOVEL of old SARUM was the *Representative* of the *Representation of the Kingdom* ; and it might be inferr'd, That the *Boroughs* gave the *Law* to the *Counties* and *Cities* : From whence also, it might follow, That whoever could obtain the Command of them, would also have the Command both of * * * * and Kingdom, so far as it depended on *Voices* only.

Now, that this palpable Absurdity was not understood at the Time of the Revolution, nor the Operations of it foreseen, cannot be suppos'd : For it was known to every Body long before, That the *Over-weight* of the *Urban Boroughs* alone, had, on many signal Occasions, turn'd the *Balance* of the House : To say nothing of the Notorious Practices

Practices of the Two former Kings, to new-model *Charters* to their own Minds, that They might have *Elections* and *Returns* accordingly.

IT was not, therefore, owing either to Ignorance or Inattention, that the *Convention*, did not remedy this *Defect* in our *Constitution*, as well as supply the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*.

AN *Administration* was to be form'd, as well as a *new Government* to be establish'd; and Those who had the *Management* of the *House*, knowing they were to be Sharers in it, chose to finish the Edifice They had begun in the *Name* of the *People*, in a Manner most *convenient* to *themselves*.

A REPRESENTATIVE, form'd on national Princip'es, would always be on the Side of the Nation; in which Case dubious Measures would be fully discuss'd, and wicked Ones would be infallibly defeated: The Ministers of such Measures, therefore, could neither serve nor be serv'd on such Terms: And as a *Majority* for the Future, was to be the *Balance* of Government, so it became *their* Business to fix that *Balance*, if not *wholly* on the *Government-Side*, at least on *THEIR OWN*.

HERE then, we have the Clue to the *Borough-System*, which has since prevailed; and from the Operation of that *System* I am afraid there is Room to conclude, that, *glorious* as the *Revolution* certainly was, it was not *quite* so *glorious* as it might have been; and that *excellent* as the *Constitution* is, it is not *quite* so *excellent* as it ought to be.

And, upon the whole, Whether the *Nation* suffer'd most from the *Abuse* of the *Prerogative* under *Charles* and *James*, or the *Abuses* fasten'd upon it, in its *own Name* since? is a Question as yet too soon to resolve.

BUT till the Reader has Time and Opportunity to consider the Rise and Growth of *ministerial Influence*, and to trace the Power and Efficacy of it, in the Controul of this *jealous Balance*, let him bestow a Moments serious Reflection on the following affecting Passages, taken from *l'Esprit des Loix* of M. de *Montesquieu*.

"As all human Things have their Period, so the State we are discoursing of will lose its *Liberty*: It will be lost: *Rome*, *Lacedaemon*, and *Carthage* have lost theirs: It will be lost, when the *Legislative* shall become more corrupt than the *Executive*".

"The *English*, for the Sake of their *Liberty*, have suppress'd all the intermediate Powers of their Monarchy: That *Liberty*, however, They cannot be too anxious to preserve: For, having once lost it, They will become of all enslav'd Nations the most enslav'd."

T H E
P R O T E S T E R

On Behalf of the PEOPLE.

By ISSACHAR BAREBONE, one of the PEOPLE.

NUMB. 13.

To be continued Weekly.

Pr. 2d.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1753.

IT must be admitted, That *National Poverty*, can hardly be too much apprehended by a *sensible Nation*: But then I am afraid our Ideas of it are rather too narrow and confin'd: For *Poverty*, according to the general Use and Acceptation of the Word, means no more than a State of Distress arising from the Want of such *Necessaries* as *Money* can supply: And when we talk of *National Poverty*, we talk of it in relation to *Money-Matters* only: Whereas *National Poverty* consists in *National Impotency*, arising from any *Want* or any *Weakness* whatsoever.

A NATION may abound in Wealth, and yet want all the Requisites to render it serviceable: It may want *Principle*; it may want *Discernment*; it may want *Firmness*; it may want *Reputation*; and it may want *Spirit*; in either of which Cases, tho' composed of Individuals ever so rich, it would be poor indeed.

THE *Athacians*, when invaded by *Alexander* and his hungry *Greeks*, had all the Wealth of the known World at their Command, and yet became an easy Prey to an enterprising but otherwise despicable Enemy.

SPAIN, tho' absolute Sovereign of Treasures never to be exhausted, could scarce defend her Possessions, till of late, either Abroad or at Home; the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* threw off her Yoke; *France* bully'd, cheated, and robb'd her as often as she pleas'd: *England* undertook to dispose of her *Succession*: And her Colonies were for ever infested by all the *Freebooters* of the Globe.

THERE was, on the other Hand, a Time when the Trade and Navigation of *England* were wholly in the Hands of *Foreigners*; when all her Gold and Silver Currency arose either from the Sale of her Commodities *unmanufactured*,

or else from the *Spoils* of her Neighbours; when, consequently, her Revenue was small, her Resources suitable, and her Consideration abroad no other than what arose from the Fame of her Arms: And yet out of this narrow, circumscribed, insignificant State, did the Ability, the Vigour, the Industry, and the Perseverance of her Individuals, *countenance'd* indeed, but otherwise very little *assisted*, by the Government, raise her to a Pitch of Opulence, Power, and Importance, equal at least to That of any other Kingdom in *Europe*.

It is true, the Discovery of a new World by *Columbus*, had given them the happy Opportunity of attaining these mighty Things: But if they had wanted the Qualities necessary for the Attainment of them, in vain that Opportunity had been presented, and at this Hour they might have been as needy and as unpolish'd as their Forefathers.

EVERY Body knows, that before *Columbus* made his Application to the Court of *Spain*, he had been a Suiter to that unkingly *Idolater* of a *Shilling*, *Henry VII.* of *England*, who rejected the *Adventure* for Fear of the *Charge*.—And this perhaps is one of the most illustrious Instances that can be given, That the Operations of Avarice are often adverse to its Purposes.

HAPPY, however, it was for *England*, upon the Whole perhaps, that it was so rejected: For *Spain* has found by Experience, that Gold may be bought too dear: The Acquisition of *Mexico* and *Peru*, was not worth the Infamy which accompanied it, and which time itself will never be able to wear away: Nor was this the only Evil that accompany'd it: For the Mother-Country lost her People as well as her Character, and her Vigor with her People: Every *Spaniard* of Spirit became an Adventurer to the Indies: Arts were neglected of Course; Idleness became habitual and universal; and the Country itself but an *annual Thoroughfare* for the Treasures which they *annually* drew from the Blood of the *Indians*, and the Product of their Mines.

THE *English*, on the other Hand, who set out, as it may be suppos'd, in the *Spanish* Track, with a Purpose to enrich themselves at any Rate, not meeting with the like Success, became *Merchants* instead of *Raparees*; and in due Process of Time, found, That *Industry* and *Ingenuity*, were of more real and intrinsic Worth to a State than the most precious Commodities that either Land or Sea produces.

COMMERCE is, indeed, the true Philosophers Stone, which, under proper Management, converts whatever it touches into Gold; of which we had soon the most convincing Proofs by the Increase of our Coinage, to a Degree never known before, as in Time may be more at large explain'd.

It follows then, That, where-ever there are Commodities of the Staple Kind, and a suitable Disposition and Capacity in the People to make the most of them, *national Poverty*, in the vulgar Sense, is the least of all Mischiefs to be apprehended — That is to say, if the Measures of Government happen to tally with Theirs. For if the Measures of Government are adverse to those of the People, and the People suffer them to be established, the Waste on one Hand, will infallibly exceed the Gain on the other; and tho' the Face of the Public may, for a while continue to *look* fair and florid, the Body will be lank, feeble and consumptive.

THAT this Nation did abound in *real*, not *fictional*, Wealth, at the Time of the Revolution, cannot be disputed: For had not the Hoard been great, we could not have held out so long as we did in an uninterrupted Course of Dissipation: And if we were once undeniably rich, and are now rich in Paper only, it must argue, That this Kingdom, as well as *Spain*, has only been a *Thoroughfare* for the Wealth it acquir'd by Trade; and that for a worse Consideration; The *Spaniards* exchanging their *Gold* and *Silver* for Necessaries, we for a Mouthful of political Moonshine, call'd the *Balance of Europe*: As, also, consequently, That a *National Want* of *Discernment*, or *Principle*, or *Spirit*, gave Occasion to those Mistakes and Miscarriages which occasion'd, or may occasion a *National Want* of *Affinity*: In which Case it again recurs, That the former of these Wants, was more to be apprehended than the Latter.

AGAIN: There was a Time when these Wants began first to manifest themselves: And from that Moment, our Apprehension, (in Case it had operated as it ought) should have prompted us to encounter the *Cause*, if only to prevent the *Effect*.

If we had conducted ourselves in this Manner; if we had accustomed ourselves to consider Wisdom and Virtue, Vigour and Fortitude as Essentials to good Government; if we had set a suitable Value upon them, if we had sought all Occasions to distinguish in the most honorable Manner Those who in the most eminent Degree possess'd them; and if, on the contrary, we had turn'd our Backs with a becoming Disdain on the contrary Qualities, however sanctify'd by

Place,

Place, Name or Title, we had never wanted means or Agents to serve us upon any Emergence, or to rescue us from any Extremity whatsoever.

So far as *Wax* and *Parchment* will go, the Crown is indeed the Fountain of Honor: But *real Estimation* can arise only from *real Excellency*: Of This the *Community* are the supreme Judge: And if They were to make a proper use of their Power, *God Almighty's* Nobility would either be more honor'd and more confided in than the Kings: Or else the Kings would be oblig'd, notwithstanding their *Patents*, to produce the like *Credentials* with *theirs*.

BUT in suffering ourselves to be bias'd by the *grossist Considerations*, by so much Money, so much Land, such a Length of Stile and Title, such and such an Office, and such a Quantity of Garniture and Parade of all Sorts, we have done our best to banish every kind of *Efficiency* out of the Island, and consequently, to render it, in the worst Sense, *poorer* than ever it was before.

TILL now, in every Party, in every Province of Business, in every Walk of Life, Efficients were to be found in such Numbers, that it was not an easy Matter to settle their Precedency, or find them all Employment suitable to their Abilities: Whence it follow'd, that every Proposition relating to the Public was fully and accurately discuss'd; every public Part was completely fill'd and sustain'd; and the whole Circuit of Things had a due Degree of Animation.

WHEREAS, such is the present Dearth of *great Qualities* as well as *good* amongst us, that we are told (I hope and believe as falsely as arrogantly) That all the Genius and Virtue we have left is to be found within the *Pale* of the *Administration*. . . For if the Man so excellently characteris'd by a late noble Lord, for *losing an Hour* in the *Morning*, and the *rest* of the Day in a *fruitless* Endeavour to overtake it, and his egregious B——r, who flies from Business, like an Owl from Sunshine, because alike indolent and incapable, are the only *Wassingtons* and *Burleighs* this Country has to boast of, it is certainly the *poorest* Country in *Christendom*.

BUT to procede; Of all the Wants above specify'd as the Constituents of *National Poverty* in the most enlarged Sense, the *Want* of *Spirit* is the most to be dreaded, because it has the most fatal Operation of them all: For if Men are unprincipled, ignorant, or imprudent at one Period of Time, Experience, Reflection and the common Use of common Sense may render them cautious, wise and consistent at another; and as long as They have *Spirit* to animate their Efforts, They will be formidable at least, whether They are Saints and Philosophers, Sages and Patriots, or no: But when the *Spirit* of a Nation is departing, all their Powers and Faculties may as well depart with it. For without Vigor all would be useless. If They had any Title to Liberty, They would not dare to assert it: If They were

were call'd upon to surrender that Title in form, They would not dare to refuse it: And if They had an Opportunity in their Hands, to be aveng'd on their Oppressors, They would not dare to make use of it . . . On the contrary, They would be apt to consider all Incentives drawn from the Examples of their Forefathers, as so many Snares to embroil them with their Superiors; They would make haste to enrol themselves under the Banner of the *Military*, for fear of being surpriz'd into That of their Country: And They would extol the late infamous *Polygation* of *Scarborough*, as a Measure fit to be follow'd by every other Borough, Town and County in the Kingdom.

WHEN the *State* of the *Nation* therefore, is discours'd of for the future, let the first Question be, what Degree of *Spirit* is left in it? "I beheld when I was among you (says the late Lord *Bolingbroke*) in his Letter on the *Spirit of Patriotism*, more abject Servility in the Manners and Behaviour of particular Men than I ever saw in *France*, or than has been seen there I believe, since the Days of that *Giglon*, who, being turn'd out of the Ministers Door, leap'd in again at his Window. As to Bodies of Men I dare challenge your Lordship, and I am sorry for it, to produce any Instances of *Resistance* to the unjust Demands, or wanton Will of a Court; that *British* Parliaments have given comparable to such as I am able to cite to the Honor of the Parliament of *Paris*, and the * whole Body of the Law in that Country, within the same Compass of Time. This abject Servility may appear justly the more wonderful in *Britain*, because the Government of *Britain*, has, in some Sort the Appearance of an *Oligarchy*, and Monarchy is rather hid behind it than shewn, rather weaken'd than strengthen'd, rather impos'd on than obey'd. The Wonder, therefore, is, to observe, how Imagination and Custom (a giddy Fool, and a formal *Pedant*) have render'd these *Cabals* or *Oligarchies* more respected than Majesty itself. That This should happen in Countries whose Princes, having absolute Power may be Tyrants themselves, or substitute subordinate Tyrants, is not wonderful. It has happen'd often; but that it should happen in *Britain* may be justly an Object of Wonder. In those Countries the People had lost the Armour of their Constitution: They were naked and defenceless; and is more complete than ever. But tho' we have preserv'd the Armour, we have lost the Spirit of our Constitution: And, therefore, we bear from little *Kingroffers* of delegated *Power*, what our Fathers would not have suffer'd from the true *Prophets* of the Royal Authority. Parliaments are not only what They

* This was written in the Year 1734, and describes some of the most Regard, because of the great *Country* at present still in being, the most venerable *Bob*, and the *Source of Power*, courtiers, and ministers of the King himself, in which the *Parliament* have not been, the *Parliament*, and an *Unhappy*, that can never be too much, and too much, and too much, whatever may be the case.

always were, essential Parts of our Constitution, but essential Parts of our Administration too. They do not claim the Executive Power. No, but the Executive cannot be exercis'd without their annual Concurrence. How few Months, instead of Years have Princes and Ministers now to pass without Inspection or Controul? How easy, therefore, is it become * to check every growing Evil in the Bud, to change every bad Administration, to keep such *Farmers of Government* in awe, to maintain and revenge, if need be, the Constitution. It is become so easy by the present Form of our Government, that *Corruption* alone could not destroy it. We must want *Spirit* as well as *Virtue* to perish. Even *able Knaves* would preserve *Liberty* in such Circumstances as ours: And *Highwaymen* would scorn to receive the Wages and do the Drudgery of *Pickpockets*. But all is little, and low and mean among us. Far from having the Virtues, we have not the Vices of great Men."

LET us examine, whether the Portrait thus exhibited of us, by so great and eminent a Master, be a true one: And if we see Cause to be ashamed of our own Features and Complexion, let us endeavour to correct in the Original what disgraces us in the Copy.

It was scarce ever known, that the *Spirit* of a Nation expir'd at once: And if the ethereal Particles, which once animated *Britain* are rather dispers'd than extinguished, rather conceal'd than consum'd, let us try, whether there is not some Species of *political Electricity* still to be discover'd, that may collect them into a Body, and set them into a Blaze again: And, if so, whether our Example may not serve as a *Light* to our Posterity?

Now and then a Spark breaks out spontaneously: And what we wonder at, surely we ought to be proud of imitating.

EVEN He who behav'd on a certain Occasion, as if he had been inspir'd by the Poet who thus pindarically sings,

..... *I cannot make this Iron-Knee*

Bend to a meaner Power than 't hat which form'd it, free; manifested a Degree of *Firmness* and *Fortitude* which would not have dishonor'd Sydney himself: And as to that *inflexible Story*, whose seasonable Verdict rescued the *Liberty* of the *People*, when devoted to Destruction, they would almost authorize a Persuasion, That the Cause of the *Constitution* was as dear to the *Middle Class* of the People now as ever.

I COULD descend to Instances of a more affecting Nature. . . . But the Times will not bear them. . . . And if the Custom, so recently and gallantly reviv'd by the Sheriff and Grand Jury of *Wapling*, and follow'd by the Grand Jury of *Essex*, in Relation to the *Just-ALL*, of presenting *National Nuisances*, should be adopted wherever the Genius of *Britain* is at Liberty to act as she ought, there will be no Occasion.

And yet some Fort seems to be wanting here.

